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## The Address of Judge Asa E. Stratton, of Montgomery, Ala.

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*At the Reunion and Memorial Exercises of Camp Robinson  
Springs No. 396 Alabama Division, United Confederate  
Veterans, Robinson Springs, Elmore Co., Ala.,  
July 24, 1915.*

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### THE SOUTH ILLUSTRIOUS IN WAR—INCOMPARABLE IN PEACE.

Slavery, not cause of secession and the war. These were the inevitable result of the clash between the National and States Right theories of American Governmental institutions.

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The services of the Confederate soldier greater in peace than in war.

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The crowning glory of the South; the restoration of its economic political and social institutions; and its part in rebuilding of American Nationality since the war.

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There was never as much harmony between the sections as now. Neither section is any the less American for the part it took in the war. All victories and all defeats under whatever banner won or lost are American victories and American defeats.

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Mr. Commander and Comrades  
of Camp Robinson Springs, No. 396,  
Alabama Division of United Confederate Veterans:

In expressing my sincere appreciation for the honor of your invitation to speak today, I must ask your charitable consideration for what may be said; for this occasion presents great lessons, as well as memories. It is of itself a lofty theme; its topics are so varied and of such consequence as to challenge the ablest and most patriotic thought. The most momentous events of American history, the causes, the effects and the influences of the mightiest political and social revolution of recent times; the relation of the States to the Union, and to each other; the rights of the States and the people; the achievements of the Confederate Soldier in war and in peace. All come before us together with memories which awaken the noblest and tenderest sentiments of the human heart.

Speaking by your request, it is appropriate that I, in your name, should welcome this assemblage of your people, who inspired by the spirit of this occasion have taken advantage of this splendid day to join you in paying tribute to the fame and memory of those from this community and this Camp, as well as all those from this and other States who so gallantly followed the fortunes of the Confederacy through glory to defeat. You also have with you the Masons of this neighborhood to lend impressive interest to the exercises of the day; and to add to their tribute of affection for the heroes in Gray, the spirit of the benign teachings of their Order, which fall like a benediction on this occasion, and upon all mankind everywhere.

War and time have thinned our ranks;—this but endears to us all the remaining few. While you keep fresh and green the fame and memory of the great majority who have crossed the river to their “rest beneath the trees;” we all join you in lamenting their absence, and in sorrow say of them, that:

“On fame’s eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And glory guards with solemn round  
The bivouac of the dead.”

The great achievements of your comrades of the whole Southland, like the great deeds of the heroic dead of all ages and of all lands, are the enduring heritage of the race. Their examples like the ministration of a living priesthood, are appeals to the

better natures of men. They are instructive and inspiring. They now control, as in the centuries past, like deeds directed the destiny and progress of mankind.

We, as a people, honor ourselves when we pause from our labors to pay tribute to the fame and services of our soldier dead, and to preserve the memory of their achievements. We here, today, present a great truth, an inspiring lesson: That through all the changes of time and fortune, the South still holds in sacred remembrance her storied past; that the deeds, the examples of her heroic dead are still an inspiration and a guide to the living. So long as that truth exists, the world will know that the glory and strength of the "Old South" was in the integrity of its purpose, and the unity of its people. What was true of the older generation must continue to be true of the present and future ones; for loyalty to clean and high traditions, to noble ideals, and to the examples of the fathers are the essential elements of successful progress in the destiny of all races. These things mean much to us of the South today who connect the past with the present, as well as with an expanding, if not an endless future. No people can safely forget, or neglect the history of its ancestry; its social relationships; its love and pride of race; or its admiration for its great achievements whether of war or peace. For all these mean more than the "flesh pots" of time, the triumphs of greed, or the materialism of the age. These sentiments are the immortal things of earth; they are the surest foundations of nations, and of all human greatness. The examples of the past are the imperishable heritage of the present and the future. No people can fail who so sacredly preserve the memory of the deeds and virtues of their ancestry as does the present generation of the South. Let us therefore examine and see what we have done to preserve the record of the South, and what yet remains to be done to advance this task which duty and affection alike impose.

#### SERVICES IN PEACE.

The achievements in war of the heroes in Gray were illustrious but the services which they rendered in peace, although not so often recalled, are as splendid, more enduring and useful than their achievements in war. Yet it has been too much the custom in the past when the South has assembled to honor the memory, to recount the services and sacrifices of its heroes, to forget in admiration for their more brilliant and tragic deeds of war, their great labors and works in peace. The South pays but half honor to its soldiers, dead and living when it recalls

and preserves only their endurance and valor in war, and overlooks their devoted labor, their patient toil, and their wondrous works in peace.

When the scenes of desolation and ruin which war in 1865 left everywhere throughout this land are recalled, and we now behold the fields of promise and the gardens of beauty which gladden every landscape of the South, we realize the truth, "That peace hath its victories no less renowned than war." When we think of the marvelous transformation wrought by the returned soldiers and the civilians of the South since the close of the war, we are forced to acknowledge our debt of gratitude for their service and works of peace which we today enjoy. When we recall their heroic struggles of peace; the momentous issues which they successfully met and solved after the surrender of our Armies in 1865, the full fruition of which we today see and possess in the moral, social, political and economic conditions of the South, we must be astounded at the splendor of the services rendered, and at our failure so long to duly honor and perpetuate these wondrous achievements of peace along with their illustrious deeds in war. When we reflect upon the patient toil, the heroic and unselfish industry of the fathers, the mothers, the civilians, and returned soldiers of the Confederacy, as they triumphantly faced desolation, yet turned as by magic ruin and want into growth and prosperity, the silence of mourning into the voice of success, we must confess how unappreciative we have been all these years of their priceless and enduring victories of peace. Not so did the ancients; more than twenty-three centuries ago when Athens paid honor to her soldiers who had fallen in the Peloponnesian War, Pericles, in his funeral oration, not only portrayed their devotion and valor in war, but he told of the glory of Attica, the splendors of Athens and the triumphs of peace, for all these as well as the deeds of war were the glorious achievements of her heroic dead whose fame he then proclaimed. He told of their lives, of their fame in peace and war, so that the "Golden Age of Athens," then in its fullness, should ever be the priceless heritage of the whole Hellenic race. So should we remember, preserve, and transmit the splendid services and the great wisdom of our soldier and civilian dead in peace along with their victories and endurance in war. The duty of the South to these immortal dead is a task but half finished. The completed part has been the work of the devoted women of this fair land, who have everywhere erected monuments to perpetuate the martial deeds of Southern valor; that was right for:

“There is no holier spot or ground  
Than where defeated valor lies  
By mourning beauty crowned.”

Yet be it said to our shame, that even tardy justice has not been done to the civic achievements of our soldier dead; or to the South. Its grand men and women, its heroes and heroines of peace have not yet fully come into their own, but let us hope that:

“In seeds of laurel in the earth  
The blossoms of their fame is blown  
And some where waiting for its birth,  
The shaft is in the stone.”

The hitherto more frequent reference to the war than to the peace record of the South has been a mistake, as well as an injustice. This practice gives but half honor to its soldier dead, and none at all to its civilians. This course keeps bright but one chapter of Southern history, and leaves the other to forgetfulness and decay. Let us remember that in the quietude and silence of peace, there are deeds as heroic, there are services rendered as noble as those which are performed amid the roar and tumult of battle. The world never saw a sadder, nor a grander sight, than the disbandment and return of the Confederate Soldiers to the life and duties of peace in the Spring of 1865. On no field of battle did these heroes in Gray display higher courage, or a nobler determination to discharge the fullest measure of their duty, than when they furled their conquered, but stainless banners, laid them away amid the ruins of war, to begin anew with courage, hope and success the duties of American citizenship. History furnishes no sublimer exhibition of duty and patriotism than that of the whole people of the South in the anguish of defeat under the lead of her heroic, but disbanded soldiery. In the bitterness of desolation, they courageously accepted their ruined condition without a murmur, but with loyalty to home and kindred, the heroes in Gray took the people by the hand, with a courage radiant with its sublimity; set an example that electrified the whole land; and by patient industry recouped the losses of unsuccessful war. In wisdom and forgiveness, they rebuilt their economic, governmental and social institutions. The peaceful transformation of the disbanded armies of the South after the surrender in 1865 into law-abiding, enterprising, industrious and prosperous citizens will ever remain among the grandest of human achievements; no brighter page

will be found in all history. The only counterpart is that of the Armies of the North uniting into the body of the citizenship of the country. Thus nearly two millions of men in America at the close of our Civil War, without disorder, revolution, or loss of liberty, laid aside the arts of war for those of peace; they converted their swords into plow shares and pruning hooks, and united in friendly rivalry in the labors and victories of peace. None but Americans have ever written such marvelous history.

Greater problems than those which confronted the returned Confederate soldiers and the people of the whole South in 1865 never challenged human intelligence and courage. Civil government and society were disorganized, poverty had supplanted wealth, money had become worthless paper; the labor system was destroyed; all business and industrial organization was gone. The only resources left were the lands, the air of heaven, and the stout hearts and willing hands of the heroic men and women of the South. If desolation and ruin was never so universal and complete, restoration was never so glorious or speedy; for fields which ran red with war in the Spring, were ripe with the Harvests of Autumn; homes which were ruins soon again became the abodes of comfort. Yea more, the South, the Confederate soldiers have answered Mr. Webster's impassioned interrogatory, "Who shall rear again the fabric of demolished government?" The South has everywhere rebuilt the temples of her liberty and religion; restored social order, created anew her economic and industrial system and aided in the rebuilding of the new American political institutions which have developed as a result of our Civil War.

The eleven States which formed the Southern Confederacy have not only regained their losses in treasure and life, but have doubled their population and wealth. The South today nearly equals in wealth that of the whole Union in 1860. In education and moral progress, the South has surpassed her marvelous material advancement. She has not only been great since our Civil war, but she was great before that mighty conflict; her sons have ever borne most conspicuous parts in every period of American history; in the colonial era, in the Revolutionary period, in the days of the Confederation, in the formation of the Constitution, in the inauguration and administration of the Union up to 1861, the South controlled and dominated, and furnished the majority of the presidents while Kentucky gave both Mr. Davis and Mr. Lincoln to the world. This hegemony of the South was in all departments of the old government; even so conspicuous was the South in the government of the country,

and in the direction of its destiny in 1861 that vice president Stephens urged that fact upon the Secession Convention of Georgia, as one of the reasons why that body should not adopt the ordinance of session. There is no page of American history which the South has not helped to write, from the first European settlement at Jamestown to this good hour. But strange as it may seem, while the South was conspicuous and illustrious in every period of American history before and after the war, it was a failure in the administration of the Confederate Government, from 1861 to 1865. It seems to have lost its capacity for civil affairs and for legislation during those fateful years. There is no great comprehensive system of legislation, or of finances to the credit of the Confederate Congress, no great diplomatic triumph and no statesmanlike grasp of the civil, financial and international needs of the Confederate government. This was in a measure due to the fact that the great men speedily sought service in the field. Mr. Davis never had any difficulty in finding men either of capacity or genius for command in the army, but in the civil affairs he was from the beginning to the end compelled to stand practically alone. He was at all times hampered by the want of men of great talent to assist him in the civil administration of the country. The mediocre men could not rise when occasion demanded to the requirements of the hour. They forgot the great example of Mr. Jefferson who during his administration of the Presidency bought the province of Louisiana from France, against his own conscientious scruples as to the power of the United States government to do so. He yielded his own views as to the absence of power, in the presence of the great opportunity to serve his country. They could not even see the great example of Senator Wigfall of Texas, who as Chairman of the Committee on Military affairs of the Confederate Senate, was able with the assistance of Mr. Davis to carry through the conscript law, against the protest of the then extreme State's right theorists in the two Houses of the Confederate Congress.

This weakness of the South in civil affairs was one of the causes of her failure in the war. This however was the only theatre of action in which the South was weak, for while the Confederate Navy was small, its officers were all as conspicuous for their familiarity with diplomatic usage, and their knowledge of international law as for their skill as commanders. Particularly was this true of Admiral Semmes, whose papers and decisions on the many questions which confronted him show great grasp of the whole subject of diplomacy and international law, while the record of the "Alabama" is a lasting monument

to his ability as a great naval commander. If the new social system of the South is less feudal in its magnificence than the old, it is more robust in its purposes, and stronger in its hopes; if the South's ideals of political institutions perished in the fires of war, she helped to save free representative government from the wreck of the conflict. She joined in the reconstruction of American nationality, and contributed her full share in the making of this Union "an indestructable republic of indestructable states;" so that today the States are as "distinct as the billows; yet are one as the sea."

Thus America presents in history the unique fact of a government whose nationality and sovereignty has stood the test of Civil war, yet that sovereignty neither attached to the soil, nor was resident in the government, but in the people. This fact was true at all times, but never fully recognized until the South in her marvelous achievements after the war, has made the opinion of American nationality—expressed by John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, a living truth. In this revised system of political institutions, the great work of the South is fully and fraternally recognized, for she stands today triumphant in its councils, controls and dominates its destiny, and leads in American progress as of old before the war. This, my countrymen and my comrades, is in broad outlines the history of the South which we all neglect. It is the noblest of all our achievements; it is the history which we should the most highly prize, and inscribe not only on marble and bronze, but on the tablets of the hearts and minds of the rising generations of the South. This is the history for which I thank this Camp for the opportunity of presenting thus briefly, as the best and most loving tribute which I can pay to the memory of my fallen comrades. This history makes the record of the South illustrious in War, incomparable in peace.

#### SLAVERY NOT THE CAUSE OF WAR.

Perhaps in no respect has the South been so neglectful of her best interests as that of leaving the world in doubt as to the causes of secession and the war. The idea that slavery was the cause is all too prevalent. If that was the true cause, then all the Southern States would have cast their lot with their eleven sisters who formed the Confederate Government. This erroneous opinion does no credit to the intelligence of the South or to that of the world. It must have been clear to the leaders, if not to the whole body of the people, that secession and war meant the destruction, not the preservation of slavery. The

great majority of Southern whites in 1861 were non-slave holders; of a white population then between seven and eight million only about 385,000 were slave holders. This mistaken notion about slavery being the cause of the war is due in a great degree to a misunderstanding of the so called "corner stone" speech of vice president A. H. Stephens delivered soon after the formation of the Confederate Government; wherem he undertook to explain the distinguishing features between the old and new constitutions. Mr. Stephens did not say that slavery was the corner stone of the new government; he among other things pointed out that as the old government was founded on the Declaration of American Independence, it was therefore committed to the proposition of the legal equality of all men, whereas, the new government was founded upon the opposite theory: the legal and social superiority of the white race. Even with that construction of his speech, it stands alone amid the public utterances of that era in the South. The fact is that but little was said as respects the causes which brought about secession. So little indeed, that that fact has been noted in contrast with the action of the American colonies when they separated from Great Britain. They presented a formal declaration of Independence, as the basis of their action, whereas the Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, which in February, 1861 made the Constitution of the Confederate Government was almost silent as to the causes which impelled the fateful step of secession. The Secession Convention of South Carolina, the State which led in the movement, simply said that "the public sentiment of the State for a long period has been ripening and strengthening for disunion." Mr. Barnwell Rhett, one of the prominent leaders in that State, at the time, declared that "the secession of South Carolina, was not because of Mr. Lincoln's election, or because of the non-enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, by the North, but that it was a matter which had been gathering head for so long that the people of the State had determined now upon secession at whatever cost." Every observant Southerner now living, who was then a part of those fateful times, knows full well that slavery was not the cause of secession and the war. Those of this generation, and familiar with present conditions, and the agreement and harmony between the sections now, cannot fully understand the crimination and estrangement which then existed between the North and the South. Never at any period of American history were the relations between the two sections of the country either so close, intimate and cordial as now.

## THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

The one great cause of secession and the war was the difference in the respective views of the sections regarding the constitutional relation of the States to the Union. In 1861, the North had become imbued with the Hamiltonian or National idea; while the South had embraced the Jeffersonian or States' rights view. The National theory prevailed during the first twelve years of our governmental life, under General Washington and the elder Adams; thus the government was organized and started under the National idea. But in 1801, upon the inauguration of Mr. Jefferson, as president, the States' right theory assumed control, and dominated the Government of the Union until 1861, for the intervening Whig administrations came into power rather upon fiscal or economic issues, than upon political or constitutional questions.

These two differing constitutional views antedate European settlement in this country; they were found in England between the Puritan and Cavalier. They were respectively planted at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. From Jamestown went forth Southward, the aristocratic institutionalism of the Cavalier, embodying the feudalistic idea that the baronies were local limitations upon the authority of the Crown; this is the germ of the State's right theory of local sovereignty, which held that the States were independent and sovereign political communities, barriers against the centralization of power in the general government. While the South was thus saturated with the idea that there was no nationality in the general government and that the Union was a compact between Sovereign States, that the right of Secession in the States was an inherent right superior to the right of revolution in the individual. But from Plymouth Rock went forth throughout the North and West the Puritan idea of liberty regulated by law; and that the Government of the Union was Supreme alike over the States and the people. Thus the political ideas of the people of the North tended to attach them more to the National than the State government, those of the South more to the State governments than to the National. In addition to this the people of the South were an agricultural people; those of the North were a manufacturing and commercial people. Thus the occupations of the two sections to say nothing of their differing industrial systems, tended to emphasize and bring into conflict their discordant political and constitutional views.

The first attempt in our history to put to a practical test the States' rights theory of the Government was singularly enough in

New England, at the Hartford Convention, in 1814; because of some inconvenience resulting from the second war with Great Britain. But by reason of the adjournment of that body, the arrest and punishment of some of its members, this attempt ended in failure. The second attempt in 1832 was likewise a failure, only South Carolina moving therein, when she undertook to nullify the tariff law of 1816. The third effort was successful in 1861, when these two opposing constitutional ideas went to war, not for slavery or freedom, but upon the question of the rights of the South in the Territories the common property of all the States. This was the question upon which the eleven Southern States which ultimately formed the Southern Confederacy, united to put to the test their faith in their political and constitutional convictions, by the exercise of their asserted right of peaceable secession. Thus the war actually came by the effort of the North undertaking to maintain the integrity of the Union, against the exercise of the asserted right of peaceable secession.

It is more than a coincidence that in 1832 when South Carolina undertook to nullify the tariff laws, the movement failed, because General Jackson, a Southern man with the National ideas of the constitutional rights of this country, promptly asserted the National supremacy, and stood ready to back that supremacy with the army and navy of the National Government, while in 1861, Mr. Buchanan, a Northern man with Southern political ideas, was president, who held that there was no constitutional power in the Union to preserve itself by force.

#### MINOR CAUSES OF THE WAR.

Thus while the antagonistic views held by the respective sections of this country in 1861, was the chief cause of the war, there are several minor causes which exercised a very great influence upon the public mind. Chief among these was the feebleness of the Union, as well as the low estimate that the people placed upon it, as necessary to their welfare. All of us who are old enough to have observed conditions in the South before the War will remember that the people then seldom saw or felt the operations of the Federal Government, a thing almost apart from their political existence. A distinguished European observer, commenting on American institutions just before the War, remarked that the Americans then had a National Government which they seldom saw, felt or respected. It was then only the State Governments with which the great body of the people came in contact, or looked to for protection.

This was especially true in the South. Not so now; that has all changed. The government of the United States is now everywhere present, seen and felt, respected and obeyed alike by the States and the citizens of all sections. The flag, uniform and the officials are seen on all sides. We today are as familiar with the National government as with the government of the State in which we live. These facts have never been fully recognized nor understood by the people. Their tremendous effect, the historian of the future will set forth. They show how little in 1861, the Southern people considered the Federal Government a thing to be reckoned with in the secession movement, or how little they thought of its power, or importance in case of war. All this illustrates the wisdom of the observation of Montesquieu, that "in the birth of societies, it is the chiefs of the Republic which form the institutions, in the sequel it is the institutions which form the chiefs of the Republic." How true that is of this country today, must be apparent, for at the birth of the Federal government, the chiefs, the fathers of the republic formed that government on lines away from and apart from the people, but in the sequel, those institutions have conformed not only the chiefs of the republic, but the people, to a new character of National government, which is everywhere present to the States and the citizens, and everywhere its supremacy is seen, felt, respected and obeyed alike by both States and people. While this new government is still the embodiment of those political institutions which arose at the birth of the republic, we have in the sequel the practical workings of those institutions, a world power, great at home and abroad. What serious thoughts this mighty power and these great achievements must awaken in every patriotic mind; great as results of the silent workings, and influence of political institutions upon our destiny as a people.

The South has ever borne a chivalrous and distinguished part in all the history of this Country. Its position in no era should be misunderstood. To make clear beyond question that position upon secession and the war, let us restate briefly the differing constitutional views of the two sections.

The North held that the Union had power to preserve itself, even by force of arms; that the United States was a National government, whose Constitution and Laws and Treaties made in pursuance thereof are the supreme laws of the land, as they are declared to be; that secession is rebellion. The position of the South was that the United States' Constitution was a compact between independent and sovereign States, who could legally secede from the compact, or withdraw at pleasure; that

there was no constitutional power to coerce them. The clash between these two discordant views of the Government of this Country was bound to come sooner or later; for a Government whose sections were thus divided could not long endure. The war was thus inevitable in the building of the nation; it was necessary to determine which one of these theories, if either should survive to control the destiny of the American people. Neither section is any the less American because of its political views, or because of the result of the war. But, be it said to the credit and honor of the South that its people were wise and patriotic enough, even in defeat to join in the rebuilding of the Nation on lines in accordance with the original ideas of the fathers; a modification of each of these antagonistic theories. Thus the South helped to reconstruct American nationality and American institutions on lines where John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, declared it to be. "The sovereignty of the nation," said he, 'is in the people of the nation and the residuary sovereignty of each State is in the people of the State; no European idea of sovereignty obtains here; at the Revolution, the National sovereignty devolved upon the people they became sovereigns without subjects, and had no one to govern but themselves; the citizens of America are equal as fellow citizens, and joint tenants in the sovereignty of the country.' That today is the character of the political institutions of America, and the fact that it is so is due as much to the South as to the North. It is this fact, the joint labor of both sections, that has brought reconciliation and prosperity, for this Union today is a "Government of the people, by the people and for the people," as it was never before. So it was that the war from 1861 to 1865 was over constitutional questions, not for the preservation of slavery. It was the passage of both sections through the same fiery furnace; through the same ordeal that other nations have passed in the development of their institutions of government and in the fulfilment of their destiny.

In preserving our record, let us not mistake dissertation for history, nor be afraid of facts. You, Mr. Commander Goodwyn, deserve the thanks of all. If others would do as you have done—gather up the historic data of each camp and each community—the true history of the South would be secure.

#### HISTORY.

You need not fear the loss or even the neglect of the martial, or political history of the South; there are too many existing

memorials of Southern achievements in each of these fields of action. The record of the South in politics and in war is indelibly written upon every page of American history, and on every field of American valor. Whether on land or sea, the deeds of the South are an important part of the heritage of American glory. These will so remain as long as the Republic itself shall endure. Southern endurance, genius and valor were as conspicuous at Valley Forge, Saratoga, Yorktown, Lundy's Lane, Lake Erie, New Orleans, Buena Vista, or Chepultepec, as at Shiloh, Missionary Ridge, or Gettysburg. Even in the hour of defeat and surrender, there stood upon the field of Appomattox no soldier more heroic and stainless than he who wore the tattered uniform of Gray.

So with respect to the political ideas and principles of the South, these will forever live as part of the constitutional and political history of the American Union. These views will continue to be recalled as long as men differ about political affairs, so long as they hold different views about the affairs of life, or so long as they hold different views of the powers and duties of the National Government. The speeches of Mr. Calhoun will be read along with those of Mr. Webster by all who would know and understand the Constitution of this Republic. The opinions of Chief Justice Marshal will continue to hold first place in the judicial history of the United States, while Gen. Washington will forever be the typical American; "First in War, first in Peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." There can never be any severance or sectionalism in American history; for in history as in destiny there must ever be unity. For this history is the record of American achievements; and it is the common glory and heritage of all the American people. Should all save yonder monument be blotted out, it would tell the story of the war not alone for the South, but for the North, though voiceless, it still bears upon its polished sides the story that on this continent from 1861 to 1865 there raged a civil war, where the sections each were foemen, worthy of the other's steel. So would a remaining Northern monument perpetuate the same fact. But there is a most essential part of Southern history, without relation to that of the North which is in danger of being lost from neglect. The only hope for the preservation of this history is that the devoted womanhood of the South will take hold of this as it did the monuments to the soldiers. This history is in the folk lore of the South, in the great works of peace, in the heroic deeds of the returned soldiers, the men and women of the South, who in 1865 and in subsequent years so nobly rebuilt their war-wasted land and

restored their political, religious, and social status as a people. Its peaceful history is the crowning glory of the South, and should be preserved. Many of the facts of this marvelous triumph over poverty and misfortune, even now live only in tradition; also those economic and moral acts which emanated from the prayers and teachings of the sainted motherhood of this fair land will soon be forgotten, and lost unless speedily gathered up, and preserved until future generations shall find an historian to do justice, to the South's splendid, yet peaceful triumph over defeat, ruin, and disastrous war. The only extended effort in this direction known to me is the work entitled, "The South in the Building of the Nation." While the work is not free from faults, it is a step in the right direction.

#### THESE OCCASIONS.

Let us recall the fact that this occasion is just past the fiftieth anniversary of Appomattox; that we stand today beside the graves of our soldier dead, and also beside the tombs of that generation of Southern men and women who gave to the world the valiant heroes who formed the armies of the South during our Civil war. The labors of that generation and its successor in war and peace make the brightest pages of our history. Therefore, if this be an occasion for memory and for tears, it is also one for inspiration and instruction. We should more and more as the years go by utilize the lessons these occasions impart. The most useful of these lessons is that American history, like American destiny is inseparable; and cannot be made sectional; the record is that of the joint valor and wisdom of both sections. The men of the North and the South illumine every page of that history from the settlement at Jamestown to this glorious hour. This whole country has experienced the fact that animosities created by wars over constitutional or dynastic questions are comparatively short lived; while the hatred born of religious wars survive for a much longer time. Ishmael-like they continue to raise a fratricidal hand against human kind. No Frenchman now asks his neighbor whether his ancestors were for the Bonapartes or the Bourbon, for the Empire or the Kingdom. No Englishman today inquires how their ancestors fought in the Wars of the Roses, whether they wore the "white rose of York," or the "red rose of Lancaster." So there are few today who concern themselves as to whether his neighbor wore the Blue or the Gray in our Civil war. Not so is this in religious wars; the battle of the Boyne fought three and a quarter centuries ago, its animosities still survive in both

England and Ireland. That battle was fought between the remnant of the Catholic army under King James II of England, and the Protestant army, under his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange. The result of that battle put William and Mary on the throne of England, and provided a protestant succession to the crown of that country. But the fires then lighted still burn, and they not only keep England and Ireland apart, but they also keep Ireland divided, and estranged; the Orangemen of the North and Catholics of the South of that green, but unhappy Island stand in hostile attitude to each other. No such living hatred divides the American people today. There is more of unity and good feeling now than ever in the history of this country between the North and South. After all both sections of this vast and imperial Republic recognize that there is but one country; the product of their joint labors. That they are the co-makers of its destiny, and its freedom. The sharers of its glory, or its shame; and responsible for the future of American progress. That all the victories, and all the defeats under whatever banner won or lost, are all of them American victories and American defeats; the common glory and heritage of all sections. Then let us under the influence of the hallowed memories and inspirations of this sacred occasion, patriotically say furl the banners, smelt the guns, for peace rules, and love through peace:

“Her gentler purpose runs.  
A mighty mother turns in tears,  
The pages of her battle years,  
Lamenting all her fallen sons.”







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